OPPOSITION TO THE CIVIL WAR IN PENNSYLVANIA

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I. [illegible]

No social or political movement proceeds to its culmination without arousing opposition to its course. The strength of this opposition depends largely upon the nature of the movement and its relation to the life of the people. If the development is a slow and gradual process, the opposition may lose momentum and power and finally disappear; but if circumstances suddenly force upon the people an issue which must be met at once, and which must inevitably result in an upheaval of present conditions, an opposition of more consequence is likely to appear. If the question at issue is one, one which most vitally and personally concerns the individual liberty and fortunes of the people, even the danger of a national calamity seldom brings a concert of opinion or of action; neither does an appealing cause, energetic leadership, or a high pride of patriotism suffice to gain the undivided support of a nation.

In an autocratic government where the source of power is in a military organization, opposition on the part of the people may not openly express itself. But this is not true in a government such as that of the United States where freedom of thought and action constitute a heritage from past generations. During the Revolutionary War all of our forefathers did not gain for themselves the title of "patriots". There was a very considerable number of men known as "Loyalists" or "Tories" who by opposing the war and continuing their allegiance to the Crown of England, were a constant source of trouble to revolutionary leaders. There was also opposition to the war of 1812, for at that time the New England States became dissatisfied with the commercial restrictions which the war imposed upon them that there developed a strong sentiment in favor of

withdrawing from the Union and establishing a government of their own, to be known as the New England Confederacy.

In many of the Northern states during the Civil War there were evidences of secret opposition to the war and of disloyalty to the federal government. This disloyalty reached its height in the states along the Ohio River. It was to this region that historical investigation of opposition to the war was first directed, with the result that there have been published a number of detailed and valuable accounts of wartime conditions in those states. These reports have given rise to the question of whether or not there existed in Pennsylvania an opposition to the Civil War which was at all comparable to that found in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. It has been the purpose of this study to assert in what way such opposition did exist and if any, to set forth its nature, and its political strength.

Discussions of the "county system" and of "military arrests" matters connected in some way with the subject in hand but not touching directly upon it, have not been included in this thesis.

II [illegible] CITY OF THE SOUTH.

Pennsylvania, by reason of her geographical position, was early considered the connecting link between the North and the South, the Keystone of the Union.[1] Her proximity to the South did not develop a similarity of institutions, for Pennsylvania was the first state to abolish slavery,[2] and within her territory were conducted a number of very successful branches of the Underground Railway. At the opening of the war, the only district tie which bound her to the South was a commercial interdependence of some consequence, which centered itself in the city of Philadelphia. Manufactured goods of all kinds, but particularly clothing and household furnishings, found a ready sale among those Southerners who constituted the wealthy and aristocratic class. Philadelphia was best fitted for supplying the needs of that region. She was nearer the South than any other large manufacturing city, the tonnage rates from this port were much lower than from New York or Boston, and by the completion, in 1838, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, transportation overland was effected.[3]

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(1) A History of the Origin of the Population, Keystone State, p. 15

(2) 1780 An Act was passed providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. There was to be a registration of slaves, and none but those so registered were ever afterward to be adjudged slaves.

[illegible]-- History of Pennsylvania. p. 98

(3) Frank H. Taylor- Philadelphia in the Civil War p. 9

Since New York and New England controlled the Northern and western trade, the South was Philadelphia's great opportunity and it speedily became her best market. "Baldwin locomotives were in use upon nearly every southern railroad. Philadelphia wagons and carriages were common all over the South. Southern printers obtained their type from this city, and here also were made the Bibles and school books for the Southern trade."(5) On the other hand the South supplied necessary raw materials to numerous factories and mills of Philadelphia, sending to that city great quantities of lumber, turpentine, and cotton.

By 1838 economic influence had so far overriden former convictions against slavery that an abolitionist of the radical type was scarcely safe in the city. Pennsylvania Hall, built by anti-slavery men and dedicated to free discussion, was, in that year, attacked by a mob and burned to the ground. Whittier lost his books and papers and barely escaped losing his life.(6) Prompt action of the authorities was required to prevent the destruction of a home for colored orphans, and the "Public Ledger" building was also threatened.

Political thought in Philadelphia was, until the eve of the war, greatly affected by the economic situation in that city. Business inter-

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(4) The Pennsylvania Railroad did not reach Pittsburgh until 1852. John Spencer Bassett- A Short History of the United States. p.755

(5) Irwin T. Sylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War. p.11.

(6) Isaac Sharpless- Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History p. 317

[illegible] were responsible for the difficulty of the Lincoln-Curtin campaign in Philadelphia in 1860. Colonel J. [illegible] McClure, Republican campaign manager in the state spent three days in a futile search for a suitable location for party headquarters which he hoped to obtain at some conspicuous point in the city, preferably on Chestnut Street. He wished to suspend over the street a large campaign flag, bearing the names of Lincoln, Hamlin and Curtin. This fact increased the difficulty of his task, for he must not only find a place for headquarters but must have the consent of the business houses opposite, before the rope for the suspension of the flag could be stretched across the street. Every business man he approached had some excuse to offer other than the real reason that he was loath to endanger his Southern trade by an open avowal of support for Lincoln. Finally, headquarters were established and the idea of the flag was temporarily abandoned. But the party officials were not satisfied and at length, City Assessor Neal, by the use of the prerogatives of his office provided a means of coercing the business houses opposite headquarters. The valuation of the property in question was raised to such a high figure that the owners immediately expressed their willingness that the flag be floated. In consideration for this concession on their part they received the abatement of valuation which had been promised them in case they complied with Colonel McClure's request.

Campaign funds were raised very slowly. Merchants would not give readily to the support of a candidate whose election was almost certain to result in a war which would deprive them of their best market. Colonel McClure states that only $17,000 was received in contributions from the whole state, and that only two Philadelphia firms gave the campaign any financial support.

In the state as a whole, the question of slavery and secession could not be depended upon for a ruling majority of votes either for Lincoln or for Curtin. Pennsylvania had been consistently Democratic in the past.(8) It had been the crucial state in the election of 1856,(9) when James Buchanan, a native Pennsylvanian and a pro-slavery man pledged to southern interests won the Presidency by the slender vote of Pennsylvania.(10) The Republicans, in 1860, felt that to win the state it was necessary to keep the issue of slavery with an economic tone and draw if possible, from the followers of Field, Breckenridge, and Douglass, all of whom supported Foster, the Democratic nominee for Governor.

Questions of an economic nature were assuming an increasing importance in the minds of the people of the State. Pennsylvania at that time produced one half of the iron output of the country, and the iron industries were among the most vital to our life. The panic of 1857 had caused a severe depression in the iron trade, which, in turn, so adversely affected the industries of the state, that even Democratic Pennsylvania was forced to a protectionist theory of tariff.

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(8) See Table Chapter II, p.1.

(9) Rhodes Vol. II p. 479

(10) Pennsylvania's Vote for President, 1856

Democratic--- Buchanan 230, 10

Republican--- Fremont 147, 110

Whigs
) Fillmore 82, 175
Know-nothings)

Francis Curtis--- The Republican Party Vol I. p. 267

The Democrats in Congress had voted against the Morrill tariff bill[12] which the Pennsylvanians had begun to regard as a panacea for their industrial ills. At the Chicago convention in 1860 the Republicans, mindful of the Pennsylvanian situation, had inserted into their platform a somewhat ambiguous tariff plank which had been acceptable to the Pennsylvanian delegation and which was designed to capture the doubtful vote of that state. On the other hand the Democratic National Convention declared for "progressive free trade throughout the world."

The Republicans in the state grasped the opportunity thus given them and made of the tariff question a very effective campaign tool. Voters were won by the promise of higher duties on iron who could never have been reached by an appeal for "free soil". "Many speeches were made in which the sole issue discussed was the tariff, and it is safe to say that no Pennsylvania advocate of Lincoln or Curtin made a speech in his State without some mention of the question that now dominated all others in the Pennsylvania mind."[13] In a strenuous campaign the Republicans carried the state. In October Curtin was elected governor with a majority of 32,000 votes, and in November at the national election, Lincoln gained 70,000 votes more than the number polled for his opponents.[14] Thus by shifting its issues, Pennsylvania, more or less unconsciously committed herself to a national anti-slavery program and repudiated the inaction policy of the Buchanan administration.

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(12) The Morrill tariff bill of 1860 provided a duty of $6 per ton on pig iron, $12 on railroad iron, and $15 on bar iron. Rhodes Vol III p 58

(13) Rhodes Vol II p 479

(14) See chapter VI

When the situation was fully realized, a marked reaction followed and earnest efforts were made to arrive at some means of conciliating the South. Governor Packer, in his inaugural message, while stating that secession was erroneous, urged a modification of extreme slavery laws on the statute books of Pennsylvania. Until 1847 owners might come into Pennsylvania with their slaves and remain there for a season without interference. The Governor expressed himself as favorable to the reinstatement of such conditions.(15) Resolutions were introduced in the Legislature which aimed at a rigid enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. In the meantime, Buchanan was urging upon Congress an explanatory amendment to the Constitution which should contain, "an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist."(16) Honorable Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, Mr. Buchanan's Attorney General, issued an elaborate opinion sustaining the President's contention that, by the Constitution, neither Congress nor himself were invested with the power to compel South Carolina to remain within the Union.(17)

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(15) Champlaye- Two centuries of Pennsylvania History p 350

(16) Quoted from the document as given by Horace Greeley in "The American Conflict" Vol I p 371.

Other points in the proposed amendment were, (a) the duty of protecting slavery in all the territories until they should be admitted into the Union as states, with or without slavery, as their constitutions might prescribe. (b) a declaration that all State laws defeating the purpose of the Fugitive Slave Law were null and void.

(17) Hon. Black's opinion is quoted by Horace Greeley, "The American

Anti-secession sentiment was encouraged by a number of newspapers, particularly in Philadelphia. They not only said that coercion was wrong, and that it was an impossibility under the law, but some went so far as to suggest that Pennsylvania should cast in her lot with the South if there was to be an attempt at disunion. "The Philadelphia Pennsylvanian" published a number of articles which may be regarded as Southern propaganda. Prominent among its contributors was Jeremiah S. Black, who was later arrested on the charge of disloyalty, and held a Federal prisoner during a great part of the War. Early in 1861, he was urging that " the people of Pennsylvania reflect what must be her condition with a dissevered Union. The only resource will be to join the Southern Confederacy and look there for the prosperity impossible to her in the Northern Confederacy."(18) In the same paper immediately after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, there appeared the following paragraph:-"Mr. Lincoln stands today where he stood on the 6th of November last, on the Chicago platform. He has not receded a single hair's breadth. He has appointed a cabinet in which there is no slave-

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Conflict. Vol I p 371.

Buchanan stated: " The Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina."

(18) War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series II Vol II p 742.

Reference to these records will be indicated by the abbreviation O.R.

holder- a thing that has never before happened since the formation of the government; and in which there are but two nominally Southern men, and both bitter Black Republicans of the radical dye. But the Border States ignominiously submit to the Abolition rule of this Lincoln Administration, if they like; but don't let the miserable traitors pretend to be deceived. Make any base or cowardly excuse but this," (19)

In "The Palmetto Flag", an openly Southern paper, established in Philadelphia in April 1861, occurred the following editorial:

"Pennsylvania, A war State for the North or for the South".

The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania has in a solemn message, asked the aid of the Legislature to assist him in putting the militia of the State upon a war footing. What is it that frightens our worthy governor? Is it the 'seven ships off Charleston bar', or is it to enforce the Public Building Law, and the postponement of the election law upon the doomed city of Philadelphia that he wants an army? Why cannot Governor Curtin wait awhile and watch which way the current will turn? Perhaps that circling tide, sweeping around the frontiers of Maryland, will wet the border line of this now proud Keystone State of the old and happy arch of the Confederacy. Should the tide touch some of the great factories of this State, may it not set the wheels in motion and force them, by a law of necessity, to become workers for southern market? Can Philadelphia, with the South cut off, compete with New York in ships, in trade, and in her branches of enterprise? We opine not. Then what course will she be inclined to take?

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(19) Greeley. The American Conflict Vol I p 428

There is a very large proportion of conservative lovers in this state, of law abiding people, of justice loving men, and they are not prepared to see the sturdy arm of Militia turned against their long and patiently suffering brethern of Maryland, Virginia, and the extreme Southern States; and when they discover, as discover they will, that they can become the manufacturing hand of the Confederacy, it is very likely, that they will throw aside their alliance, forced upon them by circumstances, with the Abolitionists and their Allies, the Republicans, and lift the flag, aye, the old flag of the Revolution, and sound the old bell in the belfry of Independence Hall, and say to the Empire State of New York, ' Come throw along with us'.

Great and unforseen and unexpected events are on the eve of revelation, and interest bearing its pulse in unison with equal justice, is yet to be the ruling influence in this country." (3)

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(20) Copied from a fac-simile in the "Chronicles of the Union League of Philadelphia," facing p 36.

" The Palmetto Flag" was short lived. It was suppressed by a mob April 15th, 1861. Appletons Annual Cyclopedia. 1861

not was the voice of the Press the only expression of dissatisfaction with the course to which Pennsylvania found herself pledged. In various parts of the State people gathered together in great "concessionist" meetings in protest against the policies which they had reason to believe the incoming party would attempt to carry out. On December 13, 1860, there was held in Independence Square in Philadelphia, by the order of Mayor Henry, and at the request of the City Council a mass meeting of this character at which 50,000 people are said to have been present.(21) Forty years previous, the Representation Hall of the State House had been the scene of a popular gathering the object of which had been a recommendation to Congress to prohibit slavery in all new states.(22) The tenor of the present meeting was contrastingly different. Mayor Henry occupied the chair. A list was read of 250 prominent and influential men comprising a corps of Vice Presidents and Secretaries of the meeting. Bishop Potter offered prayer; Mayor Henry, Judge Thompson, Charles Lex, Theodore Cuyler and others spoke. This occasion was taken for public condemnation of "officious intermeddling" in Southern affairs, "the misplaced touchings of the pulpit, the unwise impossibles of the lecture room, the

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(21) Young, Memorial History of Philadelphia, p 513

Shepless, Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History, p 351.

Record of the Union League p 29-30

Bradley, The American Conflict p. 362-363

(22) The meeting was held in 1819.

Resolutions passed:- "Resolved that in the opinion of this meeting it will be inconsistent in principle, unwise in policy, and ungenerous in power, to allow States hereafter to be created members of the American Union to establish or create slavery within their jurisdiction, and that

the exciting appeals of the press,"[23] the sensibilities that cannot bear a few slaves in a remote territory, until the white people establish a Constitution,"[24] and "any denunciation of slavery or those who assist in that institution."[25]

Resolutions were passed which pledged a careful search of State laws and the immediate repeal of any which might be construed as invading the rights of Sister States; they declared that the Fugitive Slave Law met with full execution in Philadelphia; and they recommended that all slaves freed by a mob should be paid for by the county in which the rescue occurred.[26]

On the evening upon which this meeting was convened, Mr. George T. Curtis was scheduled to deliver a lecture in the city and had announced as his subject, "The Policy of Honesty". Knowing the strong abolitionist sentiment of the speaker, the Mayor wrote those in charge of the lecture that if he himself were not the lawful power, he would not

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every lawful means which could be employed to prevent so great a political and moral transgression." Young p. 513

(23) Mayor Henry, Greeley, The American Conflict Vol I p. 363

(24) Woodward , " " " " " "p. 364

(25) Lex " " " " " "p. 365

(26) Greeley, " " " " " "p. 366 (This work will be referred to hereafter by the author's name.)

permit Mr. Curtis to appear on that occasion, as he considered it extremely unwise. Consequently, the lecturer was denied the use of the hall.(27)

Governor Curtin was interviewed by many committees of Philadelphia business men who importuned him to avoid in his speeches any expressions which might be offensive to the South.(28) Philadelphia merchants hurried their goods to Charleston and to other southern ports in response to urgent demands for shipment before the enforcement of Confederate import duties; agents sought a market for southern bonds; and as late as March and April, 1861, guns for Southern soldiers were manufactured in Philadelphia.(29)

A second mass meeting was held in Philadelphia on January 16th. 1861. The Anti-coercionists gathered at National Hall and adopted a lengthy set of resolutions, submitting that upon recognition of the secession

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(27) "In 1859, Mr. Curtis required the protection of the Philadelphia police while speaking upon, "The Present Aspect of the Slavery Question" Mayor Henry attended the lecture in person, and the Chief of Police, Maggley, had a force of 600 armed policemen stationed at the hall. ... At the appointed time Judge Kelley introduced Mr. Curtis.... For a time he proceeded with little interruption; then a great uproar ensued, which the police were obliged to quell. Meantime attacks on the building outside were made. ... Brickbats and bottles of oil-of-vitriol were thrown through the windows among the audience."

Isaac Clothier, quoted in Young p 515.

(28) McClure-- Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania Vol I, p 487 [illegible] will be found to this work by the above citation . . . provided by author's name.)

(29) Taylor p. 18.

of the whole South, the people of Pennsylvania should authorize a convention to decide with what her lot should be cast, " whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our brethern of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own; or whether Pennsylvania shall stand by herself as a distinct community." (30)

Notwithstanding the fact that Philadelphia had given Lincoln a majority vote over all his opponents, did large groups of her influential citizens thus openly state themselves in sympathy with the very principles which the President-elect was expected to combat.

On Monday two meetings were held looking toward the preservation of the Union by means of non-intervence and further compromize. The Democrats assembled December 10th, 1860, and prepared a " memorial to congress on the State of the Union", in which they urged pacification of the South. Three days later a joint meeting of Democrats and Republicans was held in the leading Quaker house and resolutions were adopted which, while favorable to the Union, recommended that the rights of property in slaves as guaranteed by the Constitution be not disturbed for any cause. (31)

Elsewhere in the State, opposition to coercion appeared in a more distinctly political phase. The Democrats, true to form, in favor of [illegible] and the rigid construction of the Constitution

(30) Young-p. 516

Chronicles of Union League-p 21

(31) Morton L. Montgomery, History of Berks County

Vol. I. p. 126

ardently supported the theories of illegality of secession as promulgated by the prominent Pennsylvania Democrats, Buchanan and Black. In Beaver County there was held on February 4, 1861, a convention known as "The People's Meeting" in which the Democrats and Republicans defied one another face to face.(32) The Republicans had made valiant efforts to secure a majority in the meeting as they knew the Democrats intended passing resolutions condemning the policy of coercion toward the seceding states, and they did not wish this to be represented as the sentiment prevailing in the county.(33) An immense crowd assembled in the old Beaver court house to give expression to the true feelings which animated both sides. Despite the efforts of the Republicans the organization of the meeting was effected by the Democrats, they having the President, all the Vice Presidents but two, and both the Secretaries.(34)

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(32) History of Beaver County, pub. 1888 p. 296

Joseph H. Newman. The History of Beaver County. Vol I p. 491

(33) The following note from A. D. Gray, then postmaster of the county to a Republican at Newport was published in the "Western Star" of Nov. 7, 1861.

"Dear Sir:-

Meet me to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock this side of Economy if you possibly can, and bring every Republican from Newport with you, if possible. They intend passing the most obnoxious resolutions and sending them out to the world as the expression of the people of Beaver County. It should be prevented if possible."

Joseph H. Newman, The History of Beaver County, Vol I. p 491

(34) The officers of the meeting were:- Hon. Joseph Irwin,

...nual . ... [illegible] ...l [illegible] ...ency in [illegible] ...ional policy toward the South. ... ...ply, Richard ... ...ocrats presented the reasons which they had for opposing slavery and secession. The Democrats then proposed a series of resolutions opposing coercion, war, and invasion. The Republicans protested but the resolutions were passed over their heads. At the close of this meeting, and left the Democrats had withdrawn, the Republicans went into another session, and with a new organization passed counter resolutions denouncing the South in seizure of arsenals and forts and upholding the Federal government.

After the outbreak of the War in April 1861, open opposition for a time ceased, stifled by an instinctive loyalty to the Union, aroused by the first appalling [illegible] of the calamity befalling the nation.

...(24) cont'd.

...Chairman; ... Calvert, Henry Clews, Thomas ...ady, ...rick Dove, ...ur ... ...ks, Levi Parkes, Jacob ..., Hon. ... ..., William Duffy, ..., Vice Presidents; ... ..., ... Smedley, Secretaries.

III. [illegible] Act.

After [illegible] years of [illegible], it [illegible] of the armies, there [illegible] growing certainty that the conflict [illegible] a long and [illegible] if not [illegible] to the fight to the end. All over the North people began [illegible] discouraged, and doubted the possibility of ever vanquishing the South. Volunteering had practically ceased, for the army was being rapidly depleted by the discharge before [illegible] of the Army of the Potomac and the costly victories of the troops in the West. The South had long possessed a conscription law, (1) and now the Lincoln administration felt the necessity of filling their ranks by similar measures. (2) Accordingly, on March 3, 1863, Congress passed an "Act for the enrollment of the National forces." It provided for enrollment by provost-marshal and enrolling officers, of all able bodied male citizens, (not whites only), including aliens who had declared their intentions to become naturalized, between the ages of 18 and 45, those between 20 and 35 to constitute the first class-, from which the President was authorized from and after July 1st, to make draft as will cover the [illegible] to serve in the National Armies for not more than three years; anyone drafted and not reporting for service to be considered and treated as a deserter." (3)

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(1) Passed April 16th, 1862 Dudley, Vol. II. p. 487

(2) As Clellan urged the President to impose a draft in 1861. Political History of the United States During the Great Rebellion, McPherson p. 274

(3) Dudley, Vol II. p 487

The effect of this act was to stimulate the spirit of opposition in the North. With increased intensity of feeling they opposed further coercion of the seceding states. It was argued that the federal government had no power to recruit its armies by forcible means; that the rights of the Constitution had been overstepped and therefore the act was null and void.

In Pennsylvania a case was brought into the courts which resolved itself into a test of the constitutionality of the national draft law.(5) Three indictments asked for injunctions against the provost-marshal and the draft commissioners to prevent them from taking the plaintiffs to the Army.(6) Judge Woodward called for a full session of the Supreme Court of the state to hear the case on September 23rd, 1863.(7) On the day appointed all the judges were present, but no counsel for the defendants appeared. The Court could not proceed with the case until advised that the counsel for the defendants had been informed of the time set for the hearing of the case. A special messenger returned with the reply that no counsel could appear.

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(4) Justice John C. Grier of the New York Supreme Court formally adjudged the act unconstitutional. Dudley Vol II. p. 488

(5) McClure O.T.. Vol II p 64-74 , Young, Hen. Hist. of Phila. p531-532

(6) The draftsmen were: Henry D. Maddin, Francis C. Smith and William Francis Bickell.

The provost-marshalls were: David C. Lane, William H. Lehman

The draft Commissioners were:-Chas. T. Schaffer, J. Hamilton Willis, Isaac Mehaffey, J.., J.Pancoast, Chas. Murphy, Christian Kanlen.

(7) McClure O.T.. V l II p. 64

The Democrats took this means of signifying that they felt that a state court had no right to act upon the constitutionality of a Federal law. The arguments for the plaintiffs were heard, but the decision, due to nearness of the State elections, was withheld until the Ninth of November.

The judges were all Democrats but one; Edward was the Democratic candidate for Governor, the election to take place in October. Chief-Justice Lowrie was a candidate for reelection at the same time. Consequently this case was an important factor in the state campaign, for it was felt that a Democratic court would be likely to declare against the Conscription Act.

The Republicans charged that the Democrats sought to weaken the government by withdrawing the means of preserving her life; the Democrats answered that the case was before an "able and upright" court by whose decision they were willing to abide. Not all the Democrats, however, were of the same mind in this question. There were those who would have objected very strenuously to an unconstitutional decision by the Court. Buchanan wrote a personal letter to Woodward urging that he was in the legality of the enrollment act as a means of safety for the party as well as for the nation.(8)

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(7) The judges were:- Walter H. Lowrie of Allegheny, Ellis Lewis of Lycoming, James Thompson of Erie, William Strong of Berks, and John M. Read of Philadelphia.

McClure C. T. P. Vol II. p. 64

(8) McClure C. T. P. Vol II. p. 67

The election, in which both Woodward and Lowrie were defeated, was indicative of the loyalty of Pennsylvania to the Union,(9) for the contest between Curtin, who had won the title of "War Governor" by his energetic pursuit of war measures, and Woodward, who had proposed to have said,"If the Union is divided, I want the line of separation run north of Pennsylvania."(10) was clearly a challenge to the support of the Federal Government.

Notwithstanding the sentiment of the majority of the people as voiced by the election returns, the Supreme Court proceeded to deliver its opinion of the unconstitutionality of the conscription act; Justice Davis, Republican, and Justice Wayne, Democrat, dissented from the majority decision of the Court.

The chief objection presented by the judges who declared the enrollment act unconstitutional, was that Congress was empowered by law to call out the militia of the States in case of insurrection or invasion, whereas the conscription had not called the militia but the very men who were subject to militia call. Therefore, they said, the method of reinforcing the army was entirely unwarranted; the rights of the State had been invaded, and our securities of liberty destroyed.(11)

On February 17, 1866, the decision of the Court was reversed. Agnew had succeeded Lowrie as Chief Justice, by making the third justice in favor of the conscription act. Chief Justice Woodward, who was now head of the Court, and Justice Thompson dissented from the opinion of their associates.

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(9) The Republican victory, however, was not a great one. See ch. I

(10) Young P. 586; Greeley Vol II. p 502

(11) George W. Woodward quoted from McClure C. . . Vol II. p. 69

Woodward was especially emphatic in his denunciation of the action of the court in reversing a judgment which he declared was final, "regular, fair, and solemn", and could not be changed with the approval of the court. (12)

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(12) Most of the material for this chapter is taken from Scoles's Old Time Notes, Vol II. Chapter XVIII entitled, " The Great Conscription Battle."

IV. [illegible] DRAFT.

Prior to the national draft of March 1863, the troops were obtained by a general presidential call for a specified number of volunteers. Then to each state was assigned her just proportion of the entire number required. It was not always an easy matter to secure sufficient volunteers to satisfy the calls, and consequently state drafts were resorted to several months before a national conscription law was deemed advisable. Such was the condition in Pennsylvania in the fall of 1862 when it was necessary for the state to draft men to supply the quota of a call for 30,000 volunteers.(1) Colonel J. W. McClure was given complete supervision of the draft of the state. He appeared to have made a special effort to secure a proportionate application of the law.(2) The commissioner and surgeon for each county were impartially appointed from opposing political parties, that the loyal Democrats might not be alienated and that those hostile to the war Administration might have no grounds for complaint.

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(1) This call was made July 7, 1862

Pennsylvania's quota was between 17,000 and 18,000 men.

McClure C. . . Vol I. p. 540

(2) " It was the duty of the commissioner to appoint proper canvassers to make the enumeration of each township, and the surgeon and commissioner who constituted the board, had power to discharge any conscript upon proof that he was not subject to military duty, or for any other reason for which he was ineligible for the service." The canvassers made a "most careful visitation to every household in the state to ascertain the names of those who were subject to military duty... And how many volunteers were then in the service from each township or ward. McClure C. . . Vol II p. 543

The greatest difficulty which the draft met in the application of its draft was the opposition of [illegible] Schuylkill County by a secret society known as the Molly Maguires, which had its origin in the "Molly Maguires," (3) and which gave very positive indications of disloyalty to the government. Case Township was the centre of their power; here politics was dominated by them, and civil officials were cowed by their daring outlawry and vindictive murders. They were bitter enemies of the Republican party and viewed the prosecution of the war with marked disfavor.

The agricultural section of Case Township, where the people were, as a rule, loyal, had furnished a considerable number of volunteers, so that when the draft lists were drawn, by far the greater proportion (4) of conscripts for the township were found to be among the miners.

Upon the day appointed for the drafted men to leave for training camp, the four conscripts from the agricultural district of the township appeared at the Pottsville station to start to Harrisburg. The Molly Maguires did not respond to the draft, but instead sent a party of their members to prevent the other men from entering the trains. They did not hesitate to employ force, and therefore no conscripts left the township at this time.

Mr. McClure reported the situation to Secretary Stanton, who immediately ordered a regiment to Harrisburg and one at Philadelphia to be sent to Schuylkill County to enforce the draft. Governor Curtin felt that a conflict between the soldiers and the rioters would produce a bad effect in the State and without, but Stanton would not listen to parleying with the insurgents, and troops were sent to Pottsville to assist the

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(3) [illegible]

(4) [illegible]

the orders of Colonel McClure.(5) In the meantime, a dispatch containing the views of the Governor had been sent to Lincoln. The President replied that he was anxious to have the draft executed or at least to appear to have been executed. Acting upon the suggestion of Colonel McClure, Commissioner Lyman secured a number of affidavits to be sworn to falsely proving that the quota of Fulton township had been filled by volunteers, and that further conscription was not necessary. The papers were mailed from Pottsville, and the men in the draft lists released from reporting for service.(6) In Philadelphia, likewise, recourse was had to subterfuge for the prevention of the enforcement of conscription. The city raised three thousand men to fill her quota, whereas in Berks and Lehigh, "Democratic Gibraltars", volunteers had promptly come forward in the numbers required. The Republicans in Philadelphia felt that the situation in the city cast a reflection upon their party and feared defeat at the coming election should a draft become a necessity. Consequently, "lightning calculators" were set to work to prove that Philadelphia had an excess of volunteers at the front.

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(5) This is Col. McClure's account of the matter. Official dispatches would seem to indicate that Gov. Curtin was exceedingly anxious for troops and that Secretary Stanton hesitated to send so large a force as was requested. O.R. Series I. Vol XIX Part II

pp.480, 478, 479, 486, 500

(6) Our material for the discussion of the Mollly Maguires and the draft was obtained from:

McClure . . . . Vol I. Chapter 19

(7)

...overnment balance sheet was prepared, and armed with this evidence a Republican committee laid bare to sunlight many political forces were so effectively employed that the provision was made of the city's quota, and the draft ordered was revoked. Thus in both Schuylkill County and Philadelphia the nation was robbed of the services of troops, in the one instance that the Molly Maguires might be suppressed, in the other that the Republicans might wind in their way in Philadelphia.

A national conscription act became an absolute necessity by 1863. Recruiting was adversely affected by the discouragement following innumerable defeats at the front, and by the unlooked-for prolongation of the conflict, while, on the other hand, business prosperity afforded the individual unusual opportunities for financial advancement. Volunteering had long since ceased to operate as a means of filling the ranks, and the state drafts had not proven satisfactory. (8) Some sort of national compulsion was imperative, and to meet the need, the conscription act was passed whereby the President was given complete control of the available forces of the nation. (9) Recruiting was now handled directly by the federal administration instead of by the States as was formerly the case. (10)

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(7) The basis for this charge was the fact that engineers had been ordered from the city with not more than sufficient numbers to exceed Philadelphia's quota. But many of these men came from adjoining counties and had been accredited to their own home district. McClure's ... Vol. I, p. 500

(8) Rhodes Vol. IV p. 186. (9) Approved March 3rd, 1863

(10) "The country was divided into enrollment districts, corresponding in general to the Congressional districts of the different states, each of which was in charge of a provost-marshal. At the head of these officers was a provost-marshal-general, whose office at Washington formed a separate Bureau of the War Department." Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 287. See provisions previously given, Ch. III, p. 19

[illegible] The
numerous [illegible], though strong [illegible], were
opposed to any [illegible]; and their [illegible] suffered
imprisonment rather than obey [illegible] which was [illegible]
by conflicting [illegible]. The Quakers objected to fighting
[illegible] providing substitutes [illegible] the President and Congress
that they might be allowed a general exemption from military service.

(11)

(12)

The petition in part is quoted below:-

"Friends of Ohio, July Meeting, 1864

[illegible] President, Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States:..... [illegible] law of Congress, every able bodied
citizen [illegible], in time of war, is liable to be called upon
by the government to bear arms in its defence.

We represent a people [illegible] by this law, without
[illegible] the commands of [illegible] them.

[illegible] can they furnish a substitute or pay any equivalent
for fine [illegible] exemption from military service, because in so doing,
they feel they would implicate [illegible] was in a violation of their conscientious scruples in this respect.

.....For the free enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, they
came to this land, [illegible] could find [illegible] of conscience,
immunities and privileges [illegible] at the hands of a professedly christian
nation. [illegible] fled from [illegible] their infant colony and
proved the efficacy of [illegible]. The conflict [illegible] unknown, and hist-

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(11) Nevertheless, two centuries [illegible] history

[illegible]. 353.

cry beats no record of strife between the Indian and the Friend.

We, their descendants, now approach you, not alone with a view to shield ourselves from suffering, but under a sense of duty to God, to assert the sacred rights of conscience, to raise the standard of the Prince of Peace before the nation, and in His name to ask you to so modify the law, that it shall not require those who administer it, to bring under prosecution innocent men for obeying His commands.. .. .. .. Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye'.....

Many of our young men, overcome by the spirit of war, have rushed into the conflict where some of them have found an early death; some have purchased their release from the draft by payment of money; others have remained steadfast to their faith in the hour of trial, thereby subjecting themselves to the penalty of desertion. Trusting in the mercy of our heavenly Father, we desire that He may so touch your hearts and understandings with His wisdom, that you may grant our petition.

Signed by the direction, and on behalf of the Committee,

Samuel Parry, Clerk.

(13)
Philadelphia, Ms., Mo. Genl, 1864 "

The quakers here got quite a special dispensation of the draft laws, and a large number were drafted to be inducted into the army. However, their refusal was not regarded as an evidence of disloyalty to the Union for their actions were well-understood to be a result of their religious views.

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(12) Mc Pherson, Political History of the Rebellion. p. 503-504

The Democrats, as had been stated, declared that the law was unconstitutional and refused the federal government the power to draft the citizens of the states. A district attorney, a judge, and certainly many of the inhabitants in New York City occurred in Pennsylvania, for here opposition was not so organized as in the large cities.[18] Resistance appeared sporadically in the mining and lumbering districts where men were accustomed to oppose the law by force, and to meet force with force. There was no organized opposition; they simply did not want to fight, much less to be made to do so.

The lumbering counties which bordered the west branch and drait delinquents were Clearfield and Cambria. In November of 1864, it was reported that there were more than a thousand lumbermen along the Clearfield rafts, armed and organized against the enforcement of the draft. Captain [illegible], U. S. Judge Advocate, was sent with a force of ten companies to the scene of trouble, to arrest the ringleaders. They naturally could not be found in any one place, as was reported, and the troops might capture the men of possible. In a letter to a superior officer[19] he said:- "It is of utmost importance that troops be moved against these people at once: First, they will all vote for the opposition. Second, in a very short time the roads will be impassable to troops. Third, many of their rafts are now ready to start, and only await the rise of the river to proceed to market. If the rise occurs before the troops reach there, many of these men will escape down the river on their rafts. Fourth, they are also dependent for the support of themselves and families upon the proceeds to be derived from the sale of these rafts. The fear of losing them will cause the disaffected citizens to lay down their arms and disavow and

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(18) There was free riot in Philadelphia. A committee of citizens asked the President to postpone the draft of July 14th, 1863 until the city

discontinue [illegible] in the counties."(17)

[illegible] assisted by the political opponents of the administration. Small detachments of soldiers only excited [illegible] indignation and contempt of the malcontents while many who had previously been supporters of the policies of the federal government, "preferring their comfort to their principles", were going over to its enemies. The provosts called for a large number of soldiers, sufficient to completely overcome those who resisted the draft(18) in law.

The troops for such purposes were scarce but in as it was not advisable to remove any [illegible] from the front.(19) Neither could they be spared from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh.(20) It was suggested that the troops stationed in Columbia County might be transferred to Clearfield and Cambria, but, this brought forth a loud protest from the loyal citizens of Columbia who asserted that order must be preserved there by military forces at least until elections were over.(21)

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could obtain forces to restrain the infuriated mob.

(14) [illegible] Provost Marshal General of the Eastern Division of Pennsylvania.

(15) Five companies were sent to Hollidaysburg and five to Chambersburg.

(16) [illegible] Brigadier General James B. Fry [illegible] Provost-Marshal-General, Washington. D.C.

(17) O.R. Series I Vol. XLIII Part II p.825-826

(18) Material for this paragraph obtained from O.R. Series III. Vol. V pp. 67-681

(19) O.R. Series I. Vol. XLIII. Part II. p.256.

(20) " " " " " " " "

Major-General Bullock, Chief of Staff replied:- "No troops to spare for this purpose now. Let them go till after election."

[illegible] while [illegible] to [illegible] collected, rejoin (22)
singly or in small numbers, did so at the risk of their lives.

Requests for troops were repeatedly sent in to headquarters, but it was not until December that the soldiers actually reached the troubled counties and were able to break the power of the resisters. On December 7th (23)
three companies under the command of Major Kibbel arrived at Philipsburg, "with full instructions to operate against deserters, delinquent drafted men, and disloyal citizens of Clearfield County." Captain Southworth, with his company proceeded to Osceola on the night of December 13th, and while en route, "surprised and surrounded a house in which was a gang of nineteen desperadoes (mostly deserters), and after a short conflict, killed the leader, (24)
the notorious Tom Adams, and captured the entire gang, eighteen prisoners."

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(21) O.R.Series I Vol. XLIII, Part II p. 527

" Bloomsburg, Pa. October 1, 1864.

Major [illegible]:

[illegible] do not withdraw any part of the military force from this county until after the 8th, especially the cavalry.

[illegible]Court [illegible] Clerk".

[illegible] account of "Lushing Creek Confederacy" below p--

(22) O.R.Series I. Vol XLIII. Part II. Pp.526-527

[illegible]ember 1, 1864

Provost-Marshall Campbell to Capt. Dodge:- "I am [illegible] my detectives, Colonel Butler, was killed yesterday in Clearfield arresting a deserter."

Captain Dodge to Brig.General Frye:- "This is the second agent killed in Clearfield county within a week."

(23) of the Sixteenth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps.

(24) Quotations taken from the report of Capt. Dodge to Brig. Gen. Frye. O.R.Series I. Vol. XLII Part II p. 793. Appleton's Cyclop. Ed. for 1864, p. 581, A brief account is given.

Another company was sent in [illegible]field to reinforce. [illegible] in [illegible] the north[illegible] command in a few days and it would seem that this ended open resistance in this region, as the official records bear no further mention of the matter. (25)

Much notoriety has been given "The Fishing Creek Confederacy", the alleged organization of disloyal men in Fishing Creek township of Columbia County. The story of the events which transpired there in 1864 has been exaggerated, ignored, or flatly denied by various writers of State and county history until it has become somewhat of a puzzle to arrive at the truth of the matter. (26) There seems to be no foundation to the rumor that there was a fort in the North Mountain, wherein draft evaders sought protection from government agents, although the delinquents were given to vague boastings that their were places in the mountains where a handful of men could withstand many times their own number. There were many men in Columbia County and the adjacent portions of Luzerne and Sullivan Counties who refused to respond to the draft, and in this they were very generally upheld by the sentiment of the people of their own vicinities. (27)

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(25) Anti-war feeling continued in Clearfield throughout the war. An immense mass meeting assembled in the yard of the Court House on the 15th of August 1864 to protest against the course of Mr. Lincoln's administration in conduct of the war.

Aldrich Lewis Bass, Clearfield County History p.318

(26) This account very closely follows F.R. Battle's apparently unbiased discussion of the "Fishing Creek Confederacy" in his History of Columbia and Montour Counties, pp.129-131. Col F.A. Wenzel: History of Columbia Co. 1892-895 gives greater detail and is written with the Democratic viewpoint of one who witnessed the scenes.

(27) Especially in Fishing Creek, Benton, Sugarloaf, Jackson, and Pine

In a [illegible] meeting the disaffected men sought to devise some means of evading the draft, by hiding, resisting, or raising money for substitutes. No concerted action followed; and the organization, if they had one, did not prove itself very efficient.

Lieutenant Robinson with a squad of eight came from Luzerne into Columbia early Monday morning and took place near Wolfe's Creek attempted to halt a party of civilians. The soldiers were fired upon and Lieutenant Robinson mortally wounded. A few days later a detachment of troops arriving in Bloomsburg, went into camp on the fairgrounds and gave as the purpose of their occupation, the enforcement of the draft. The number of soldiers was soon increased until it reached a thousand.(28)

Major General Couch came to Bloomsburg on August 13th,(29) and sought the opinion and advice of leading citizens of both political parties. The Democrats were emphatic in their statement that the opposition was in no way alarming, that there was no fight, and that ten men could make the arrests as easily as ten hundred. J. K. Frease was prevailed upon to carry the General's message to the delinquents that the charge of desertion(30) would be remitted from all those who would report themselves by 12 M. . . of August 20th. The day passed and as the drafted men did not respond to

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Commings.

(28) It included Captain Lambert's independent company of mounted men; one section of the Keystone Battery of Philadelphia under the command of Lieut. Roberts; a battalion of infantry under Lieut. Col. Stewart; and a battalion of Veteran Reserve Corps. Keefe. . 119

(29) Commanding the Department of the Susquehanna.

(30) [illegible] to be found in [illegible] Vol. I. p.345

the offer, Lieutenant Stewart, whom Cadwalader left in command, on August 31st had a body of troops [illegible] Benton township.(31)

A week later Major-General Cadwalader arrived in Bloomsburg, assumed command, and with additional forces shortly afterward followed Stewart on an expedition into the upper townships. During the night of August 30th, squads of troops were posted throughout the disaffected region and by this means about one hundred arrests were made. After a preliminary trial, held in the early morning at a church near the village of Benton, only forty four of the men were detained to be sent to Harrisburg as prisoners.

General Cadwalader then proceeded to search the adjacent country for evidences of fortification or artillery but none were found. The general returned to Philadelphia September the 7th, and pronounced "the whole thing a complete farce".

The trials began October 17th, at which time twenty-one were conditionally relieved from arrest. Only seven were ever sentenced, the terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to two years.(32) Five were previously discharged because of sickness and one died in prison. The others were acquitted or the charge withdrawn, at a later date.(33)

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(31) Col Frantz's description of the march follows:-

"The land was mountainous [illegible] in military methods in boggish and cold ways. The front was supposed from the highest principles of military art; infantry, cavalry, and artillery being united in proper proportions, [illegible] front of the united powers presented for a battle purpose, the horse in front. [illegible] great figure [illegible] civilian [illegible]. It was for them a joyful Sunday [illegible] to keep upon their exhibition. For as they were [illegible], the churches were

The military occupation of Columbia county occasioned much controversy and bitter feeling among the citizens. The Democrats insisted that because she was a Democratic county, Columbia was suffering under a dishonest enrollment which ought to require more than her just quota; that there was no organized resistance to the draft; that innocent men were arrested and imprisoned; that military interference was at its object the influencing of elections; and that the application of martial law destroyed their civil privileges and undermined the liberties which are supposedly assured by the government of a republic.

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abandoned, the quiet of the day disregarded, and a political raid upon their fellow citizens attended and encouraged. Their passions were gratified and their hopes were strongly exalted at the prospect of political advantage from the armed occupation of our territory, and the application of military influence to our elections."

(32) One was pardoned by President Lincoln.

Five were pardoned by Johnson.

One paid a fine of $300.00 and escaped imprisonment. Battle, p.120

(33) The charge was that the accused, a citizen of Columbia County did unite, confederate and combine with---,---, and many other disloyal persons whose names are unknown, and form connection with a society or organization commonly known and called by the name of the "Knights of the Golden Circle", the object of which society or organization was and is to resist the execution of the draft, and prevent the said act of Congress, approved March 3rd, 1863, and the several supplements thereto from entering the Military service of the United States. This done at Orangeville Township, Columbia County, Penna. on or about Aug. 14th, 1864, and at divers other days and places both before and after said mentioned day."

The Republicans on the other hand maintained that none of the civil officials were guilty of perform their duties because [illegible] and [illegible], that the officials were in sympathy with draft evaders and did not seek to enforce the law. Therefore, they considered the presence of troops unnecessary because of [illegible] and enforcing the conscription act. Much of truth is contained in either contention. However, it is admitted that the enrollment were very inaccurate, that the large forces sent to the county were unwarranted, and that there was a considerable republican gain at the fall elections which was probably due to the presence of the soldiers. On the other hand, many of the Democrats of Columbia were opposed to the prosecution of the war, desertions were numerous, and a large number of conscripts attempted to evade the draft, all tending to concerted action.

There was trouble also in the anthracite coal districts in Carbon, Schuylkill, and Luzerne counties, where opposition to the draft was instigated by an Irish organization known as the "Molly Maguires". The society originated in Ireland from the wrongs of the landlord and the extreme poverty of the country provoked fearful resistance to rent collectors and officials of the law. The name of the organization is said

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(84) from [illegible].

A common argument against the suspension of habeas corpus during the civil war, and the arbitrary arrests ensuing..

to have been formed from the [illegible] which was particularly efficient in [illegible] landlord's agents.(35)

The Mollie Maguires first appeared in this country in 1854 or 1855(36) when they gained ascendancy within the "Ancient Order of Hibernians"(37) in the anthracite districts, and through this medium were able to dictate the policy of the organization in these localities. A rule of terror, brutality, and murder followed. Any objectionable mine superintendent or boss would be threatened by notes of warning decorated by crudely drawn pictures of coffins and pistols,(38) and if this did not cause him to leave the town [illegible] of another branch to whom he was unknown would be detailed to murder him in some violent manner.(39) Detection was almost impossible, and it is doubtful if among the law-abiding citizens anyone could have been found foolhardy enough to attempt to bring an offender to trial had his identity

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(35) Schuylkill County History p.20 from Lewers, "The Mollie Maguires" p.44

"The best-authenticated explanation of the name, however, is that the members were generally black, often young men, dressed up in women's clothes, with their faces blacked or otherwise disguised, with grotesque fantastic masks, or with burnt cork about their eyes, mouth, and cheeks. In this condition they would pounce upon process-servers, grippers, bailiffs and drivers, knock them in the head, beat, and otherwise maltreat them..... It does not appear that the name of Mollie Maguires was observed in all localities of Ireland, but in many it was the local name where the Mollie Maguires have been done away with in this country."

(36) Schuylkill County History p.20 Lewers p. 38

(37) The Order was particularly incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania as a beneficial association. It has a large membership both in the United

t n prov m. T [illegible] ck [illegible] part in p l i c , [illegible]
(40)
acted [illegible] control d number f the officers of justice. In 1862,
t [illegible] Molli [illegible] quires [illegible] s s g [illegible] [illegible] t [illegible] draft, and as [illegible] p vi sly
[illegible], it was thought best [illegible] ig [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] rather than to
create a disturbance within the [illegible]. With the passage of t [illegible] final
conscription act, and its [illegible] enforcement, they were [illegible] time
brought to face the uncomfortable prospect of leaving their work and unto-
customed high wages; they were about to be removed [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] change in
which they had no interest, and for [illegible] [illegible] which they viewed with the
same suspicion and distrust as the one they had known in Ireland. Determined to resist compulsion from any source, they met enrolment with
active opposition, and it was only by most judicious treatment that they
were prevented from an open outbreak in Schuylkill and Carbon counties at
this time. With bold defiance their program of crime continued,

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[illegible] and [illegible] rit in. [illegible] vidence [illegible] [illegible] prior, outside of the
coal region, with crimin l acts, but [illegible] proc [illegible] [illegible] f [illegible] Molli [illegible]" were
never openly [illegible] dicted by [illegible] ider, and it is [illegible] ly certain that
an [illegible] ssessment was [illegible] d upon its [illegible] [illegible] divisions in the United States to
raise funds for the defense of the individuals who were brought to trial in
1877. Dewees p. 39-40: Samuel T. Wiley, Cyclopedia of Schuylkill Co. p.152

(38) A [illegible] ar [illegible] [illegible] f llows:- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] lease l ve len
[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] you don't you will suffer; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(41) great [illegible] of 1863 [illegible] body forced (42) [illegible] the Mauch Chunk jail [illegible] a number of prisoners.

Early in November [illegible] the collieries in the vicinity of Mazleton were closed by order of the "molly maguires" for the avowed purpose of compelling the federal government to relieve the mining regions from the operations of the draft. (43) Troops were hastened to Mazleton, the mines reopened, and a number of arrests made. There was difficulty in procuring evidence against the accused men, and unless the crimes could be classed as conspiracy to resist the draft, the harboring of deserters, or resistance to military forces engaged in enforcing the draft, they could not be legally tried by military courts, inasmuch as the United States had no jurisdiction over crimes which were exclusively acts of offenses. This made the situation a delicate one, for the state was utter-

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(41) 14 murders in 1863,
" " " 1864,
12 " " 1865 [illegible] Manual . Riley: My Experience in the Schuylkill Co. p.131.
[illegible] of a detailed account of individual cases of assaults and murders. pp. 49-55

(42) Sheylen p. 764, Lewees p. 47

The inference is that the prisoners were violators of the draft law, but no definite statement of that fact has been found, and the time needed to any official record of the arrival of troops to enforce the draft.

Direct record of the call for troops:- Harrisburg, [illegible] v. 5, 1868-7:302. . . (Reserved 8:10. . .)

Major - Gen. McCleck:- [illegible] and [illegible] in the coal region. [illegible] withdrew [illegible] plaints [illegible] I. Vol.XXIX, Part II. p.448 . . .Couch, Major-General."

(43) From a [illegible] Maj. Gen. Couch [illegible] Adj.

ly powerless to execute the laws in Northumberland, and unless martial law were declared no order could be restored. For the safety of those who supported the policies of the federal government, protection from some source was plainly imperative, but it was upon how that the depredations of the Molly Maguires were visited. General Couch, in a letter to Major-General Hall, wrote: "You must be very cautious about substituting military law for civil. However, the loyal, good people in that region are desirous of having martial law declared, and would bless you if you would hang 100 men a day for a week. One thing is clear, that those who have been arrested against whom no charge can be preferred, should not at present be set at liberty."(45)

Troops were quartered in the region throughout 1863 and 1864 but without any considerable increase in suppression of violence. The worst localities in Schuylkill County were Mahanoy, Mass, Ashland, Shilly, Butch, and New Castle Townships. In the towns of Ashland, Mahanoy City, Mechanicsville, and Pottsville, the hoodlums were particularly desperate. Houses were broken into, furniture destroyed, families driven out of their homes, beating, robbery, wanton assault, wounded soldiers ultraged

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Wash. D.C. dated Nov. 13, 1863 } Rec. Series I. Vol. LI
Part II. p. 801.

(44) Commanding the district of Dalaware.

(45) The quotation is from a letter dated Wilkesbarre, Pa. Nov. 14th, 1863. Rec. Series I. Vol. XXIX, Part II. p. 485.

and in those weeks [illegible] were killed or died from their wounds.(46)

It was estimated that between [illegible] and five hundred deserters and delinquent draftees were in the county. Their arrest was a matter presenting much difficulty because at the first appearance of the troops the men would flee to the mountains where their capture became well-nigh impossible. A force of cavalry [illegible] and went out at night in detachments of six or eight, met with [illegible], but the soldiers were frequently fired upon by parties of men hidden near the roadside or among rocks on the sides of the hills.

The feeling against the government was at its [illegible] at election times. The leaders [illegible] were always [illegible] that the triumph of the opposing political party would be a signal for revolution at the north. " (47) At the November election of 1864 troops were employed to preserve order in Mahanoy, Mahanoy City, Ashland Township, Girardville, Upper and Lower East Mahanoy Townships, and Port Carbon. Messengers from Fremont, on the night before the election, informed Colonel Markle, commanding Schuylkill District, that a party of [illegible] one hundred in number were getting together in the woods adjoining Port Carbon, with the intention of intimidating and driving from home the inhabitants of that town on the next day. Cavalry was despatched to that point, [illegible] fled, and everything

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(46) U.S. Series I. Vol XLIII Part II p. [illegible] Material for this paragraph and the following paragraph was obtained from above reference.

(47) U. S. Series I. Vol XLIII Part II p. 452

was quiet upon election day. (48)

In the Hazleton region, the provost-marshal, although having at his disposal an officer and detachment of cavalry was screened from making any attempt to arrest deserters, of whom a large number were reported in this district. (49) Arrests were made in Mauch Chunk township, it was officially reported, though deserters were numerous. In Luzerne, Sullivan, and Wyoming counties very few draftees were reported, yet the willingness was well known and might easily have been apprehended. (50) The power of the volly acquired made it impossible to completely enforce the draft laws by the pressure which could be applied by a few companies of troops. Indeed, the power remained the dominant force in the anthracite region for ten years after the close of the war, until a brilliant young detective, posing as one of themselves, gained access to their councils, their secrets, and provided evidence for the conviction and execution of their leaders, thus accomplishing their final overthrow. (51)

Governor Curtin was forced to abandon the hope of securing sufficient men by means of the draft and appointed recruiting agents, from the various counties where the number was lacking, to out in men from the insurrectionary states to fill Pennsylvania's quota. (52)

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(48) O. R. Series I. Vol. XLVI. Part II p. 482

(49) " " " " " " " " p. 579

(50) " " " " " " " " p. 482

There was opposition to the draft in Lehigh County [illegible]. Appleton's Cyclopedia [illegible], 1869

(51) J. P. Lewis gives a detailed account [illegible] work, also James Ward Watkins. Vo. VIII.

(52) Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia. 1864 p. 801.

V. [illegible]

Secret political societies in the North were a strong factor in fomenting anti-war sentiments. Their [illegible] influence was such that during [illegible] of depression following [illegible] Union arms at the front, the administration suffered grave apprehensions that the North itself might become the scene of war, for it was known that military uprisings were being planned and instigated by secret disloyal organizations.(1) Societies designed for the express purpose of giving aid and comfort to the enemy abounded in the North, but particularly in the middle western border states where they received their inception and rose to their highest development.(2)

The associations were variously designated in different sections of the country and at different periods of the war. The most popular names were the "Knights of the Golden Circle", "Knights of the Columbian Star"," Order of the American Knights", and "Sons of Liberty".(3) In what particulars these societies differed one from the other it has not been possible to determine. Their general purpose was so nearly identical, and their membership embraced so nearly the same elements that there is much justification for the popular idea that the organizations differed only in name.(4)

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(1) [illegible], The Appeal to Arms, Vol. I, p.250

(2) Branches of [illegible] were discovered in California, Michigan, Iowa, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Washington territory, and Pennsylvania. [illegible] Secret political societies in the North during the War, p. 188-189

(3) Other names were:- [illegible], (Organized in [illegible], Knights of the Mi-

The "Knights of the Golden Circle" stands first in point of time and perhaps of importance. It was organized by Dr. George W. Mackley in Cincinnati in 1854. It had as its original purpose the colonization of Mexico, its union with the United States as a slave state, and the consequent securing of Southern political preponderance in national affairs. In 1861, a change was made in the ritual which indicates a modification of the purposes of the organization. The first degree stated:- " The first field of our operation is Mexico, but we hold it to be our duty to offer our services to any Southern state to repel a Northern army." The candidate for the third degree was required to be a native of a slave state, a protestant, and a slaveholder. If born in a slave state the candidate need not be a slave-holder provided he could give evidence of his character as a southern man.(5)

From the last mark of this organization pledged itself to the support of the Confederacy. The membership bound themselves to resist the payment of federal taxes and to prevent enlistment in the army.(6) In 1863 the other of the Knights of the Golden Circle published their objects: " securing the desertion of soldiers, with their arms and the protection of those deserters; resist-

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gian Council ; Democratic Invincibles Club, Chicago; Democratic Reading Room, Louisville, Knights of the Mighty Host, Knights of the Circle of Honor; Mutual Protection Society. Fesler p. 188-189

(4) Fesler p. 190

(5) " " 198-199

(6) " " 208 quoted from the report of grand jury of U.S. circuit court in Indiana, May 1863

ing further drafts and if necessary further enlistments; and [illegible] the [illegible]."(7)

[illegible] the members of the organization and the designs and purposes of the higher degrees. The credulous were often allured into the order upon the pretext that it was instituted for other purposes than the political organization of the Democratic party.

Meetings were held in secret places, sometimes in the woods. Members were usually armed and [illegible] were prepared to ward off intruders. Military drill was practiced by the various lodges, guns and ammunition were shipped under the guise of "furniture", "bundles", etc; plans were discussed for the seizure of arsenals, and supplies of different sorts were sent to the Southern army. Members were secret signs, grips, and words whereby leaders of different counties could recognize each other as well as members of the country they happened to be travelling.(8)

The Knights of the Golden Circle was so thoroughly exposed in 1863, by the espionage system instituted by Governor Morton of Indiana that its power was broken, and it was finally succeeded by its successor, the "Order of American Knights".(9) The new organization was strongest in Missouri where its very boldness brought about its downfall. Government agents secured admission to the lodges and evidence was obtained by which numbers of the leading officers were convicted, and the [illegible] required.

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(7) Dealer p. 207 quoted from O.R. Ex. Vol V p. 865

(8) The various branches or [illegible] of the organization were designated by the term "castle".

(9) Dealer p. 213-214

A literary Sociey, the Supreme Council of the Mysterious Ivy [illegible] the name of the society was changed to the "Sons of Liberty", and the ritual modified so as to appear less offensive to general supporters, indeed, the principle of the first degree was [illegible] a restatement of the doctrine of states rights of the Democratic party.(10)

Vallandigham, who chiefly spearheaded the movement, who had been arrested for disloyalty and banished to the Confederacy, had made his way to Canada and there received from the Supreme Council Commander of the Order an invitation to become the Supreme Commander of the Order. He accepted the proffered honor and suggested further change in the ritual.

The Sons of Liberty was responsible for the conspiracy with the Confederacy for the establishment of the so-called Northwest Confederacy.(11) and for other treasonable activity.(12) The politicial societies were slightly unsuccessful in many of their attempts to aid Lincoln. The fact of their opposition to the war in the North, the Confederacy much more than any of the few supplies they were able to furnish them, and the hope and sympathy held out to the South wrought the chief injury to the government that was suffered at their hands.

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(10) S.A.M. was originated by [illegible] Knight of Missouri. The general password was "U-ch-lee", Calhoun spelled backward.

(11) A plan for the separation of the Northwest states from the Union and an alliance with the South. Vallandigham was [illegible] confederate commissioners that the Sons of Liberty were ready for an uprising. Prison camps at Columbus Indianapolis, Chicago, Alton, and Rock Island were to be raided, arsenals seized, telegraph lines and railroads controlled, Louisville and St. Louis

[illegible] numbers [illegible] influence [illegible] in the middle western states. Information regarding their existence in Kentucky is very vague. It has frequently been asserted that a secret political organization was held at the Fishing Creek conference, but there is apparently no evidence to support such a statement.(12)

In October 1861, the grand [illegible] Knights of the Golden Circle", Dr. Murray, [illegible] grand, [illegible] presented the Constitution and by-laws of the "Knights of the Golden Circle". Investigation showed that the document was copied almost verbatim from the constitution and by-laws of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" copies of which were in the possession of the state departments. It was believed that the party was a branch of this organization engaged in its propagation in the east. It was determined that further extension of the order under his direction thus prevented.

In this county the organization of several companies was effected. The majority against the government in any case leading was very strong and the organization had gained considerable advance before its existence was

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[illegible] to be the real purpose, state government was to be overthrown and the men forced to abandon his march to the sea, [illegible] the union north of the Ohio. Fortunately leaders brought the plan to naught.

(12) At Camp Morton, prison camp near Chicago. Confederate agent furnished money for supplies. Members of the "Sons of Liberty" readily turned informers to the Federal government as testified in their report, and the raid was forestalled.

(13) The charge brought against [illegible] Fleming from prisoners indicates a strong suspicion of the existence of a chapter of the "Knights of the Golden Circle".

report [illegible] to the authorities. [illegible] paid 1.00 initiation fee, and took an oath, the [illegible] was widely known but which had evolution [illegible] organization [illegible] ft. It was reported that in one place or [illegible] hundred and seventy [illegible] were sworn in [illegible]. Meetings were held in taverns, [illegible], school houses, and in barns. Opposition to the administration was [illegible] and [illegible] fidelity [illegible] obligations of the "Standing Order", [illegible] was charged to the government, which was practically the sole source of information of the rural population of the county.(14)

In May of 1863, [illegible] and [illegible] part of the county who had been engaged in organizing lodges in the locality were arrested and taken to Philadelphia for trial.(15) Detectives were sent into the county to make investigations, and the results were that a number of further arrests were made, and the organization crushed out. The exposure of the order officially put an end to [illegible] operation [illegible] but [illegible] party [illegible] of the Golden Circle in Pennsylvania.(16)

At one time the military authorities in the south were much pu-

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(14) O.R. Series XIV. Vol.VII p. 75 A letter from John F. Richards to [illegible] Carter, Judge Advocate, Washington, D.C. dated March 31st, 1863

(15) O.R. Series III. Vol. III p. 137 A letter from John F. Richards to Hon. [illegible] Carter, Judge Advocate, dated May 7, 1863

(16) Foster, p.423

O.R. Ser. II. Vol.VIII p. 523-535 Report of Judge Advocate [illegible] Burnett on the growth and failure of [illegible] political societies. Addressed to Secty. [illegible], dated May 2nd, 1865

turbed ov[illegible] the prospect of a [illegible]confederate invasion from Canada. [illegible]ers of South Carolina had gone to Canada to establish relations with Yulee, Bigham and the Sons of Liberty. Disappointed in the hope of [illegible]ing a general uprising of the disaffected [illegible]n, (17) they had decided to concentrate their efforts upon the release of Confederate prisoners. The Camp Douglas conspiracy was being organized and November 5,18[illegible], had been selected as the time for a raid on the prison. Along the Canadian border, loyal Americans kept close watch upon the activities of southern agents, and suspicions were very [illegible]. On November 1st, the commander of the steamer Michigan telegraphed the mayor of Erie, "Be on the alert [illegible] for pirates from Canada." Such communication [illegible] was unfounded and the mayor did not know [illegible] to be [illegible] to fortify the city against an attack of the enemy. (13) General [illegible] was ordered to fill with [illegible] section of artillery and with arms for the citizens. Adjutant-General [illegible] . . . ich immediately sent out from Harrisburg [illegible] guns and ammunition. He would not have (19) strong regiments of infantry ready at a moment's readiness to send into the state. The Mayor [illegible] n called [illegible] Seventy-Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania, [illegible] quot for the [illegible] uniform, and [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for the defense [illegible]

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(17) [illegible] Thurman [illegible] 44-435 [illegible] report of an investigating [illegible] mittee.

(18) [illegible] O. R. Vol. XXXII Part II. p. 21-24

(19) [illegible] O. R. I. Vol. XXXII Part II p. 478 [illegible] to Townsend [illegible] added:-" [illegible] [illegible] think there will be any serious trouble; [illegible] [illegible] certain."

ity. [illegible] rumour of invasion was [illegible] formed, [illegible] on November 3rd, [illegible] such a [illegible] that all was quiet in the city, and no further [illegible] of the affair appear in the official record.(20)

(20) U. S. [illegible] I. [illegible] [illegible]. p. 585

VI. [illegible]

[illegible].

Prior to the Civil War, Pennsylvania was a Democratic stronghold. From 1799 till 1860, only four governors of the state had been elected on other than the Democratic ticket.(1) Upon the issues arising from the slavery question loomed above all others in the political world, and forced a new alignment of political parties, the majority of Pennsylvanians became members of the new Republican party.

This majority, however, was not an overwhelming one, the Democrats forming a powerful adversary within the state. Some who favored the war, preferred to remain in their old party rather than join the Republicans. They were known as "War Democrats" as a mark of distinction from the ordinary Democrats who opposed the prosecution of the war and advocated conciliation and further compromise with regard to the South. Others were openly disloyal to the Federal government and constituted a comparatively small class known as "Copperheads".(2) They were in full sympathy with the South and upon occasion would aid and comfort to the enemy, and encouraged desertion of Federal troops, and resistance to the draft.

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(1) 1808--- [illegible] elected on [illegible] ticket
1817 --Joseph Hiester---- " " Anti-Mason "
1848--- [illegible] Johnston " " Whig "
1854---Wm. Bullock " " " and Republican tickets.
Smull's Legislative Hand Book 1887 pp. 201-207

(2) Origin of the term "Copperhead":- [illegible] a cut from a copperhead on which was the head of the goddess of Liberty.

Exhibit p. 572

In 1856, the elections in Pennsylvania were won for the first time by the Republicans. In 1856, Buchanan had received a vote of 230,110 (3) as against 147,510 the vote polled for the Republican candidate, Fremont. In 1860, the contest was a close one; a reaction of feeling had set in and it was feared that Pennsylvania might revert to the Democratic stand. If the state elected a Republican governor it would also cast its vote for a Republican President, and it was well understood that the election of Lincoln would help serve to widen the breach between the North and the South, and to heighten the probability of a sectional war. A vigorous campaign, (4) in which the slavery issue was submerged in a local economic one, resulted in victory for the Republicans; the Republican candidate for governor, Curtin obtained 262,349 votes while Foster, the Democratic candidate, received 230, 239; Lincoln received 268,030 votes, a majority of 30,000 over the combined (5) votes of his opponents. The Congressional delegation from the state included (6) 17 Republicans, 2 War Democrats, and 6 Democrats. With this auspicious

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(3) History of the Republican Party, Curtis, Vol. I p.

In the election of 1856 Pennsylvania gave Fillmore the Whig and Know Nothing candidate 82, 175 votes.

(4) See p. 9

(5) Democrat----- Buchanbridge ,178,871
Union----- Bell , 12,776
Democrat ----Douglas , 16,7 3

History of the Republican Party, Curtis, Vol.I p.

(6) Old Line Whigs, Clums
Vol I. p. 560

[illegible], Governor Curtin [illegible] in which he pursued so successfully as [illegible] for himself the title of War Governor', working with Governors [illegible] of Massachusetts, and Governor Burton of Delaware as the most ardent supporters of the Federal Administration to be found among the governors of the United States.(7)

[illegible]y 1863, various [illegible] had brought about the strengthening of the Democratic Party in the North, especially in the Northwestern states. Encouraged by two years of fighting, the Southern army had invaded Maryland and approached Washington to the very consternation of the President and government officials, and the 'Alabama' [illegible] had been operating unhampered in the [illegible] upon Atlantic commerce.(8) In the face of these misfortunes, breathing to a momentary elation over the victory of Antietam, Lincoln [illegible] a preliminary announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation just as the nation was going to the polls.(9) To his opponents among the more conservative element within his own party, this waiving of political expediency seemed a foolhardy step, inasmuch as the Lincoln supporters of the Northern states could not be

(7) Chapter [illegible] p. 352

(8) For [illegible] account of exploits of the Alabama see Schmucker History of the Civil War in the United States.
pp. 370-371

(9) September 22nd, 1862

willing to see the Union commit itself to a struggle for the extinction of slavery and the complete overthrow of the South.[10] The Democrats, continually hoping for compromise saw the South, spurred by the Proclamation spurred on to more desperate exertion, and believed that the final hour of peace had been indefinitely postponed by an unwise act of the Administration.[11]

The effect of the Proclamation was undoubtedly the main element of success in the Democratic triumphs in the elections which followed. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, all of which except New Jersey had cast their electoral votes for Lincoln, declared against the party in power.[12] In Pennsylvania, the entire Democratic state ticket was elected, with a majority of Democrats in the Congressional delegation.[13] The State Legislature had the following composition:- Senate, 21 Republicans, 12 Democrats; House, 5 Democrats, 45 Republicans. This gave the Democrats the majority of [illegible] in a joint ballot.[14]

The Legislature was to elect a United States Senator, Simon Cameron being the Republican candidate, and Charles Buckalew, the Democratic. Cameron hoped to draw a few of the Democratic votes and made a statement to that effect; whereupon Democratic leaders throughout the State demanded that there be a united party election for the Senator. Members of the Legislature

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(10) [illegible] p. 347, 348 [illegible] advisers urged Lincoln not to issue the Proclamation until after elections.

(11) Holland, [illegible], p. 381

(12) Rhodes, [illegible] p. 153

(13) [illegible] p. 385 [illegible] Congressional delegation from Pennsylvania in 1862 consisted of 18 Republicans and 7 Democrats.

(14) [illegible] Vol. II p. 80

were warned that should they desert their party for Lincoln, they would be driven from the state. Meetings were held in Philadelphia while it was openly declared that in Democratic counties a Republican would have his vote only if he voted for Lincoln. The Democratic candidate insisted upon a guard of soldiers to protect him at the hall of Legislature, and claimed his failure of re-election to the fact that his request was not granted. An organized band of "Wilson" and "Lincoln" men from Philadelphia was present in the hall, occupying positions of advantage and prepared for assault. (15) The intimidation was thorough and Wilson was elected.

In the following year, the chief interest in the elections of Pennsylvania centered in the gubernatorial contest, in which the Democrats nominated George W. Woodward by opposed Curtin who stood for re-election on the Republican ticket. It would here be almost impossible to draw a more distinct issue than that created by these opposing forces. Governor Curtin had rendered efficient and energetic service to the Union cause and was known to be one of Lincoln's staunch supporters. On the other hand, Judge Woodward was a pronounced pacifist advocate and a bitter opponent of the conscription act. (16)

Judging by the outcome of the state elections in 1862, the election of a Republican governor seemed highly improbable. Within the year, additional causes of disaffection had arisen. The conscription draft had gone into force early in 1863 and was met with violent opposition in various parts of the state. It was claimed that the Conscription Act had no legal right for existence, and the question was carried into the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Demo-

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(15) Material for this paragraph is taken from Moore v. . . Vol. I Chapt. II.

(16) See Chapter III.

crats [illegible] military forces in the execution of the draft. The [illegible] was [illegible] and the source of angry complaints. The suspension of the 'habeas corpus' act, and military arrests of suspected delinquents in Kentucky were cited as examples of the [illegible] of the laws and of the Constitution.(17)

In [illegible], the "Peace Democrats" held a meeting in Independence Square where [illegible] denouncing the arrest and banishment of Vallandigham as unconstitutional and a violation of popular right.

The opposition controlled a Philadelphia newspaper called "The Age",(18) which exerted a powerful influence in behalf of disloyal Democrats. Colonel Charles J. Biddle who had served in the Mexican War and had been in Congress, was its chief contributor. The opportunity for criticism of the war party was allowed full scope. Satire, abuse, and political controversy were vigorously [illegible] those supporting the administration. "The Age was always vigorous, usually able, and habitually comic."(19)

The encouraging signs [illegible] in the prosecution of the war. The failure's continued [illegible] in the removal of Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac. In 1863, Pennsylvania was invaded by Confederate troops the city of York occupied, and heavy contributions levied.(20) By the end of the

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(17) Rhodes Vol. IV. p. 259

(18) Founded March 1863

(19) Young. Hist. of Phila. p. 525-531. [illegible] p.74

The Union League, a [illegible] loyal society, was organized for working [illegible] for [illegible] made out of it.

(20) History of York, Co., John [illegible] p. 109-110

Rhodes Vol. IV pp. 372-373

[illegible] the Rebel Army numbering 75,000 men, [illegible] Pennsylvania soil. The Confederate cavalry approached within three miles of Harrisburg, from which city the inhabitants fled in great numbers. Philadelphia was expected to be the next point of attack, [illegible] asked a strong [illegible] to have [illegible] McClellan restored to command of the Army of the Potomac. [illegible] New Jersey and New York likewise requested his return, but Lincoln [illegible] ti advisable and gave the place to General Meade. The refusal to reinstate [illegible] Lincoln merely added to his popularity and as he made his way northward he was received with such ovations that "his course became the appearance of a public triumph rather than a return into private life." (31) Pennsylvania, as his native state was most eager in her support of him. When, therefore, shortly before the election he wrote a public letter (32) endorsing Judge Woodward as a candidate for Governor, his recommendation had much weight, (33) and the principles which he enunciated were readily accepted by the Democrats of the State.

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(31) George [illegible]. Lecture delivered before [illegible] of Philadelphia, incorporated in the Chronicles of Labor League of Phila. 1902"

(32) The letter is quoted in part below. It is taken from Appleton's Cyclopedia for 1863. p. 740

Orange N.J. Oct. 12th, 1863

Hon. Charles [illegible]

Dear Sir :-

[illegible] my attention [illegible] to the Philadelphia "Press", containing [illegible] written to the managers of a Democratic meeting at Allentown, disapproving the objects of the meeting, and that if I would allow it would be in favor of Governor Curtin. I am informed that similar publications have been made throughout the state. [illegible]

The people went to the polls, then, on the issue of the support of the Administration in the prosecution of the war. And it not been for the signal victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg which occurred in July, it is extremely probable that the State and a large portion of the North would have gone Democratic, but throughout the war it was a significant fact that opposition to the Administration at Washington was checked at every success of arms, and that political power was readily transferred to the stronger side. (24)

I therefore request you to say that I have written any such letter as that stated, or any such words,..... and I beg to state clearly and distinctly, that, having, a few days ago had a full conversation with Judge Woodward, I find that our views agree, and I regard his election as Governor of Pennsylvania called for by the interests of the nation.

.....I understand him to agree with me in the opinion that the sole great objects of this war are the restoration of the unity of the nation, the preservation of the Constitution, and the supremacy of the laws over our country.

Believing our opinions entirely agree upon these points, I would, were it in my power, give to Judge Woodward, my voice and my vote.

I am, very respectfully yours,

George [illegible]

(23) [illegible] Vol. IV. p. 416

(24) In comment upon this paragraph Volume [illegible] says:- "The real weakness of the Confederacy then lay in the support given to the Democratic party in the North, and it was readily understood by the intelligent, that, complete victory could only be obtained by making the Confederate side the strong-

ty over the Democrat. (25) [illegible] received 289,861 votes, Seymour 284,171, the former being elected by the narrow margin of 35,000 in a vote of over one half million. In the legislature, the Republican advantage was also slight, where they obtained a majority of one in the Senate, and four in the House. (26) A Republican judge was elected to the office in the Supreme Court giving the former party a majority of one, and enabling the Court to reverse the decision of the unconstitutionality of the Militia Conscription Act. (27)

The counties which voted Democratic in the election of 1868 are indicated in gold in the accompanying map.

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er, by increasing the prospect of successful victories in any field."

The Nation Volume, p. 166

(25) New York had elected Democratic governor, the Republican candidate of New Hampshire fell short of a majority, Rhode Island was won but by a reduced majority, and that in Connecticut was smaller than in the preceding election. Wallace was renominated for Governor of Ohio, but was defeated at the election.

(26) Composition of Legislatures 1868 Appleton's Cyclopedia 1868 p. 739

	Senate	House
Republican	17	52
Democrat	16	48

(27) Ableman vs. Booth. See Chapter VII.

Counties having Democratic in 1868.

Curtin, Republican	Woodward, Democratic.
Adams 3689	1917
Bedford 3480	2704
Berks 7005	12627
Bucks 6266	6886
Cambria 2164	3000
Carbon 1542	2119
Centre 3714	3058
Clarion 1710	2598
Clearfield 1561	2488
Clinton 1107	1911
Columbia 1861	3042
Cumberland 3484	4075
Elk 336	722
Fayette 3091	3791
Greene 1784	2960
Juniata 1456	1777
Lehigh 3696	5526
Luzerne 7022	9800
Lycoming 3414	3865
Mercer 684	2712
Montgomery 6808	7489
Montour 1128	1447
Northampton 3426	6588
Northumberland 3644	3856
Pike 270	1184

Schuylkill	6506	8547
[illegible]dyn[illegible]	2811	152
[illegible]sbury[illegible]land	4494	5861
[illegible]yoming	1179	1418
York	6812	8069

John A. [illegible], Legislative Manual and Register of the State of Pennsylvania.

1867 p. 113-114

In 1862, political questions in Pennsylvania were only a part of the great national problem," Abraham Lincoln reflected." The Democrats had promised and practically failed in their efforts to abandon the struggle and give official recognition to the Confederacy. [illegible] Lincoln would maintain a federal presence and capital conditionally. He would not agree to recognition of the Confederacy, but said, "The Union, is the sole condition of peace we ask or will make." (28) He denounced military interference in civil affairs in the border states, and reprimanded the tyranny and despotism of the Administration.

The Lincoln platform called for unconditional submission of all persons to federal authority, called for an abolition amendment to the Constitution, and upheld the President in all conduct of the war.

The South watched the campaign in the North with all eagerness, for they believed a Democratic administration could be persuaded to accept a treaty of peace, or at least short of an actual restoration to the Union, and that further military successes would not be necessary to ac-

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(27) The letter was originally published in Lincoln's own version edited by [illegible] Raymond, Pennsylvania, in 1863. Reprinted in Thomas [illegible], p. 400. [illegible] this Pennsylvania's [illegible] of the conditions. The letter [illegible] received from Colonel Allen is given by [illegible] p. 481.

(28) Fehrenbacher, p. 305

President Davis [illegible] Lincoln in the [illegible] Democratic party [illegible] such a treaty

...ain their ...r. ... [illegible] ... having made such a statement, ...and from a ...[illegible]... ...ry ... ...rds," he says, if we can only hold out this year, ... the peace party of the North will sweep the Lincoln tyranny out of political existence." (30) Davis was prepared to believe that Wilkinson Pugh's prediction would be fulfilled. His summary was published in gloom and depression but Lincoln himself despaired of republican success.

As in 1863, a victory, if the armies brought the needed reaction and ... Lincoln carried only three states. (31) This might seem to indicate that the strength of the opposition had been exaggerated, yet the Democrats with their opposition ... all that had been fought for. They defeated by a majority of scarcely more than 10 % of the total vote in the states that remained unfreedomly loyal to the Union cause. (32)

In twenty years, new issues and new officers were elected but the republicans gained a majority in the Congressional representation, and a republican majority in the legislature was obtained. The Democrats carried the state on the home vote, but the soldier vote gave the republicans the supremacy. The presidential election came about a month later, and the anti-war Democrats hoped that a large number of the soldiers, through their guide could rally to ... McClellan. But the ten thousand soldiers furloughed home by

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(30) William Pugh. ... Diary.

... correspondence ... James in ... Lincoln- Herndon- Lamon- Lockwood Collection, ... Library".

(31) Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey.

(32) ... History of the United States ... p. 200

... by George Tucker Bispham

(33) J. G. Randall- Lincoln the President ... History of the American People. ... McClellan had been the idol of the army and the people, and although he

(34)

and Vallandigham gave their votes to Lincoln and through their influence the Democratic vote also went for him by the small majority of five thousand. The entire State vote for Lincoln was 296, 391; for McClellan, 276, 316. Thirty five counties in the state went Democratic, a gain of five counties over the election of 1860.

The county votes for President in 1864 are shown in Table IV and by the map.

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and Vallandigham were arrested at Mt. Vernon on August 8, 1864, and placed [illegible] form, but before they could follow, had a call for suspended habilities. There never was a Democratic convention that could have been more enthusiastic, elected in 1864, until [illegible] when Thurman of Ohio, and Vallandigham [illegible] Dividing through the valley of Virginia."

(34) [illegible] Light, p. 609 Party Vote in Pennsylvania 1864

Lincoln ---- [illegible]

McClellan ---12,840

[illegible] Democratic in 1884.

	Lincoln	Mellan
Adams	3018	3015
Bedford	2386	3752
Berks	8710	13266
Bucks	6336	7335
Cambria	2844	5035
Carbon	1721	2251
Centre	3817	3399
Clarion	1730	2633
Clearfield	1513	2801
Clinton	1666	2185
Columbia	1914	3467
Cumberland	3604	4254
Elk	348	555
Fayette	3321	4916
*Fulton	694	906
Greene	1563	2074
*Jefferson	1830	1877
Juniata	1437	1753
Lehigh	7038	8970
Luzerne	7645	10045
Lycoming	3401	4307
*Mifflin	1648	1718
Monroe	685	2698
Montgomery	6872	7943

Montour	1180	1490
Northampton	8726	1944
Northumberland	3915	3608
*Perry	2406	2446
Pike	270	1180
Schuylkill	7851	9540
*Sullivan	369	650
Wayne	2574	3989
Westmoreland	4650	5577
Wyoming	1987	1402
York	5568	8000

* [illegible] by the Democratic [illegible] 1868

[illegible]'s Legislative [illegible]ook.

1868 p. 305-306

Conclusion.

[illegible] opposed the [illegible] in Pennsylvania did so for a variety of reasons. Business, religion, politics, and an aversion to fighting were all contributing factors to the opposition within the State. The business connections of Philadelphia with the South operated against an enthusiastic support of Lincoln and his policy of maintaining the Union at all costs, and favored compromise and concessions in behalf of the States desiring to secede. The Quakers, Mennonites, and other peace sects opposed the war as a matter of religious principle but their loyalty to the Union remained unquestioned. Opposition to the enforcement of the draft appeared most flagrantly in Lawrence and Cambria counties where groups of lumbermen refused to fight, and among the miners in the anthracite region of Schuylkill and Carbon counties where the "Molly Maguires" met conscription with armed resistance.

Of all the opposition shown, that of a political nature was most general and most formidable. Other phases of opposition to the war were sporadic, and confined to limited areas of action, but the influence of Democratic hostility permeated the State. The Republican hold on Pennsylvania was to be time secure, and throughout the war, the Democratic party presented a force with which to be reckoned. A Democratic Supreme Court denied the constitutionality of the conscription act, and Democratic voters carried the State election, thereby gaining control of the Legislature, and were barely defeated in the other elections held during the war period. Although it is somewhat difficult to determine at just what point party loyalty becomes disloyalty to the government, or criticism of the administration resolves itself into opposition to the war, yet the political issues

Pennsylvania were made so distinct as to leave little question but that large numbers who voted the Democratic ticket in 1863 and 1864, did so in opposition to the war against the South.

The Democratic opposition and the symptoms of disloyalty in the State exerted a constant pressure upon Governor Curtin and his associates. It was because of this political uncertainty and the insecurity of the Union cause in Pennsylvania that the first appearances of open hostility were met with such severity of treatment. It was for these reasons that such large numbers of troops were held into draft ridden regions and stationed there, that military arrests were so numerous, and that the state was thrown into a panic by a mere hint of a Confederate invasion from Canada.

It is a memorial to the energy and efficiency of the State officials that without a semblance of real united support of the Commonwealth, a state program of cooperation with the National government in the prosecution of the war was successfully carried out, and that Pennsylvania remained among those states accounted loyal to the Union.

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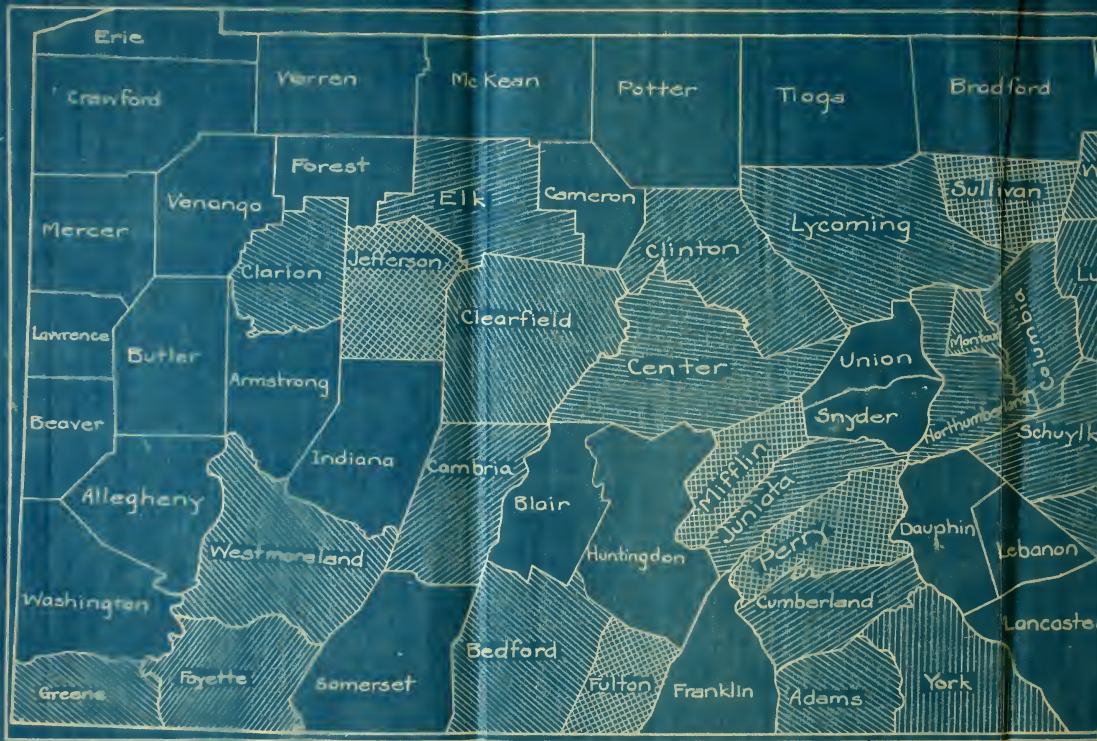
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STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

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Elections of 1863

Additional Counties voting Democratic in 1864

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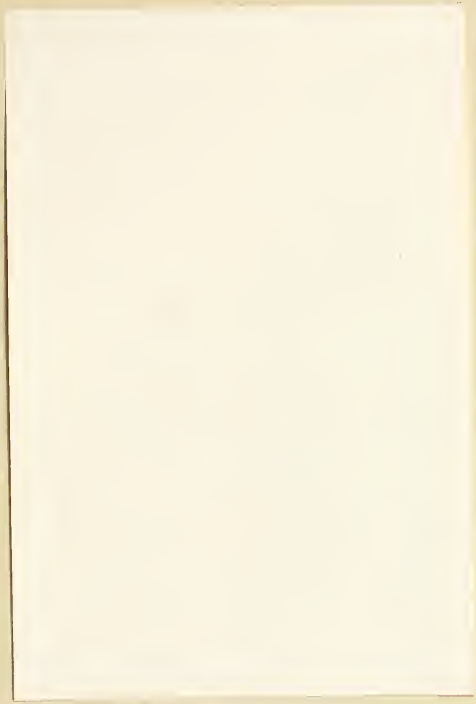

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